

Message Text

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 ATHENS 0027

EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (SECTION INFORMATION)

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR GR CY TU

SUBJ: CYPRUS: CHAIRMAN HAYS MEETING WITH CARAMANLIS
AND AVEROFF

REF ATHENS 24

DEPT REPEAT TO ANKARA AND NICOSIA AS DESIRED

1. ALTHOUGH I CANNOT BE SURE HOW THE PRESS WILL PLAY SOME OF THE REMARKS MADE BY CONGRESSMAN HAYS AT HIS EARLY AFTERNOON PRESS CONFERENCE IN ATHENS (SEPARATE TELEGRAM), I BELIEVE HIS OVERALL VISIT HERE AND HIS HIGHLY EFFECTIVE MEETINGS WITH CARAMANLIS AND AVEROFF WERE MOST WORTHWHILE AND SUCCESSFUL. IN A SEPARATE MESSAGE (REFTEL), I HAVE SUMMARIZED BRIEFLY THE MAIN OUTLINES OF HIS 22-HOUR WHIRLWIND STOP IN ATHENS, AND IN THIS MESSAGE WILL GIVE GREATER DETAILS CONCERNING HIS MORE SENSITIVE DISCUSSIONS WITH CARAMANLIS AND AVEROFF CONCERNING CYPRUS AND TURKEY.

2. HAYS MET WITH CARAMANLIS FOR A LITTLE MORE THAN A HALF HOUR SHORTLY AFTER NOON TODAY. NORTH ATLANTIC ASSEMBLY SECRETARY GENERAL DESHORMES, AMBASSADOR MORLYVIATIS (DIPLOMATIC ADVISER AND ASSISTANT TO CARAMANLIS) AND I WERE ALSO PRESENT. THE MEETING OPENED ON A FRANK AND CORDIAL NOTE AS HAYS RECALLED HIS TWO EARLIER MEETINGS WITH

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CARAMANLIS WHILE THE LATTER WAS IN PARIS. HAYS

REVIEWED THE BACKGROUND OF HIS OPPOSITION TO THE JUNTA, HIS AMENDMENT RESTRICTING MILITARY SALES TO GREECE DURING THE PERIOD OF THE DICTATORSHIP, AND HIS DISAGREEMENT WITH THE ADMINISTRATION'S APPARENT CLOSE SUPPORT AND COOPERATION WITH THE PAPADOPOULOS REGIME. HAYS SAID THAT HE VISITED PAPADOPOULOS WHEN HE WAS IN GREECE IN MAY 1973 AND URGED THE HOLDING OF ELECTIONS. HE SAID HE HAD A PROTRACTED AND VIGOROUS DEBATE WITH PAPADOPOULOS ABOUT THE LATTER'S POPULARITY AND WHETHER OR NOT GREECE WAS "READY FOR DEMOCRACY".

3. HAYS WENT ON TO EXPLAIN TO CARAMANLIS THE CURRENT CONGRESSIONAL SITUATION IN THE US AND THE ABSOLUTE NECESSITY IN HIS VIEW OF GETTING SUBSTANTIVE AND EFFECTIVE NEGOTIATIONS STARTED AT ONCE ON THE CYPRUS PROBLEM. HAYS TOLD CARAMANLIS ABOUT HIS VARIOUS MEETINGS WITH TURKISH LEADERS IN ANKARA EARLIER THIS WEEK, AND SAID HE WAS CONVINCED THAT AGREEMENT COULD BE REACHED PROMPTLY ON THE OPENING OF THE NICOSIA AIRPORT AND THE PORT OF FAMAGUSTA. HOWEVER, HAYS SAID, THE TURKS WERE VERY DISTRUSTFUL OF MAKARIOS AND CONCERNED ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF THE SOVIETS BEING DRAWN IN SOME WAY INTO THE GUARANTEEING OF WHATEVER SETTLEMENT WAS NEGOTIATED ON CYPRUS. HAYS TOLD CARAMANLIS THAT HE HAD THE CLEAR IMPRESSION THE TURKISH LEADERSHIP HAD THE HIGHEST REGARD AND RESPECT FOR CARAMANLIS PERSONALLY AND ALSO FOR CLERIDES. CARAMANLIS SAID THAT HE DIDN'T "WANT THE RUSSIANS" INVOLVED IN THE GUARANTEEING OF THE CYPRUS SETTLEMENT EITHER. CARAMANLIS SAID THAT THE TURKS KNEW HIS POSITION ON THIS POINT ABSOLUTELY. (CARAMANLIS IMPLIED, ALTHOUGH HE DID NOT SAY SO DIRECTLY, THAT PERHAPS THROUGH SOME OTHER DIRECT CHANNEL OF COMMUNICATION HE MAY HAVE WITH ANKARA, THAT THIS POINT HAD BEEN GOTTEN ACROSS TO THE TURKS). THE PROBLEM AT THIS STAGE, CARAMANLIS WENT ON, WAS NOT HOW TO GUARANTEE THE SETTLEMENT, BUT RATHER WHETHER OR NOT SOME KIND OF NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT COULD BE AGREED BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY AND THE PARTIES ON THE ISLAND. CARAMANLIS SAID THE TURKS WERE PUTTING THE CART BEFORE THE HORSE, AND HE SAW NO REASON WHATSOEVER TO TRY TO REACH AGREEMENT NOW ON THE GUARANTOR ARRANGEMENTS AS A CONDITION EVEN FOR THE OPENING OF SERIOUS

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NEGOTIATIONS. HE FEARED IT WAS JUST A PRETEXT ON THE PART OF THE TURKS. HE SAID THE ESSENTIAL QUESTION WAS WHETHER OR NOT TURKEY WAS PREPARED TO REACH A REASONABLE AND REALISTIC NEGOTIATED SOLUTION. CARAMANLIS SAID HE HAD YET TO SEE ANY INDICATION THAT THE TURKS WERE PREPARED TO DO THIS. HE SAID THE PROBLEM WAS NOT IN CYPRUS NOR IN ATHENS, BUT IN ANKARA.

4. HAYS SAID THAT IF CARAMANLIS THOUGHT THE TURKS WERE RAISING THE GUARANTOR QUESTION AND THEIR CONCERN ABOUT THE SOVIETS MERELY AS A PRETEXT, WHY DIDN'T CARAMANLIS TEST THEM? HAYS SUGGESTED THAT CARAMANLIS, WITHOUT PUTTING ANYTHING IN WRITING, INFORM THE TURKS PRIVATELY AND INFORMALLY IN ANY WAY HE CHOSE THAT GREECE WOULD NEVER SEEK TO HAVE THE SOVIETS INVOLVED IN THE GUARANTEE ARRANGEMENTS. CARAMANLIS DEMURRED AND INDICATED HE WAS ABSOLUTELY UNWILLING TO GET INTO THE MATTER OF GUARANTEE ARRANGEMENTS UNTIL IT WAS CLEAR THAT SOME MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT WAS ACTUALLY GOING TO BE NEGOTIATED. CARAMANLIS REPEATED THAT THE GREEK SIDE WAS READY TO REACH A REALISTIC SETTLEMENT GIVING TO THE TURKS A NUMBER OF CONCESSIONS WHICH THE TURKS HAD WANTED FOR YEARS. SOMEHOW THE TURKS HAD TO BE FLUSHED OUT IN ORDER TO SEE WHETHER THEY WERE REALLY PREPARED TO PROCEED TO A SETTLEMENT.

5. HAYS THEN TURNED TO THE ROLE OF MAKARIOS, POINTING OUT THE EXTREME SKEPTICISM AND EVEN DISTRUST WITH WHICH HE WAS REGARDED. CARAMANLIS SAID THAT EVEN IF ONE ACCEPTED THE HYPOTHESIS THAT MAKARIOS WAS AN "EVIL" IN THE PICTURE, THE FACT WAS THAT MAKARIOS WAS A "NECESSARY" EVIL. IT SIMPLY WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE TO REACH ANY KIND OF ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT ON CYPRUS WITHOUT MAKARIOS' INVOLVEMENT. CARAMANLIS SAID THAT THE TURKS NEED NOT BE SO CONCERNED ABOUT MAKARIOS, THAT THERE WAS AN AGREED POSITION ON THE GREEK SIDE WITH WHICH MAKARIOS WAS ASSOCIATED. MAKARIOS "RESPECTS AND FEARS ME", CARAMANLIS SAID, AND HE EXPRESSED COMPLETE CONFIDENCE THAT MAKARIOS WOULD BE REALISTIC AND REASONABLE IN FINDING A SETTLEMENT. HOWEVER, CARAMANLIS QUICKLY ADDED, IT WAS ESSENTIAL THAT PROGRESS BE MADE SOON. HE COULD NOT BE EXPECTED TO HOLD THE GREEK SIDE TOGETHER INDEFINITELY.

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6. CARAMANLIS TOLD HAYS, AS HE HAS EXPRESSED TO ME ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS, THAT HE WAS VERY WORRIED ABOUT THE TRUE TURKISH POSITION AND ATTITUDE TOWARDS CYPRUS. HE SAID HE KNEW THE TURKS WELL AND HE FEARED THAT, EMBOLDENED BY THEIR SUCCESS ON CYPRUS, THE TURKS WOULD OVER-EXPLOIT THEIR POSITION AND BE TEMPTED TO FURTHER ADVENTURE OR PROVOCATIVE ACTS AGAINST GREECE IN THE AEGEAN OR ELSEWHERE. THE TOUCHSTONE OF THE NATIONAL MOOD AND LEADERSHIP OF TURKEY WAS GOING TO BE CYPRUS AND THIS WAS GOING TO BECOME APPARENT IN THE PERIOD IMMEDIATELY AHEAD. CARAMANLIS SAID HE DID NOT EXCLUDE THE POSSIBILITY OF A WAR BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY IF THE TURKS DID NOT COME TO THEIR SENSES AND ASSUME A MORE CONCILIATORY AND CONSTRUCTIVE ATTITUDE.

7. THERE WAS A BRIEF EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ABOUT GREECE'S RETURN TO ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN THE NORTH ATLANTIC ASSEMBLY, AND CARAMANLIS SAID HE WAS "FAVORABLY DISPOSED" TOWARD SUCH PARTICIPATION BUT WAS NOT READY AS YET TO MAKE A FINAL DECISION ON THE MATTER. THE UPCOMING VISIT OF ANOTHER LARGE U.S. CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION TO ATHENS THIS WEEKEND WAS ALSO DISCUSSED, INCLUDING-- ACCORDING TO CHAIRMAN HAYS--THE STRONG LIKELIHOOD THAT AT LEAST SOME MEMBERS OF THIS DELEGATION WOULD WANT TO MEET WITH ANDREAS PAPANDREOU. CARAMANLIS BRIDLED AT THIS AND SAID HE THOUGHT IT WOULD BE HIGHLY INAPPROPRIATE, NOW THAT THERE WAS AN ESTABLISHED DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT IN GREECE, FOR SUCH PROMINENT OFFICIALS TO SEEK A MEETING WITH
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PAPANDREOU.

8. CARAMANLIS EXPRESSED HIS APPRECIATION, AND THAT OF HIS GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE OF GREECE, TO HAYS FOR THE LATTER'S REPEATED DEMONSTRATIONS OF INTEREST AND SUPPORT FOR GREECE GOING BACK TO HAYS' INVOLVEMENT IN GREEK AFFAIRS BEGINNING IN 1949. HAYS SAID THAT HE HAD UNDERTAKEN THIS TRAVEL TO THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN AT THE PERSONAL REQUEST OF SECRETARY KISSINGER,

WHOM HE GREATLY ADMIRERD AND SUPPORTED, AND WANTED TO MAKE WHATEVER CONGRIBUTION HE COULD TO THE PRESERVATION OF PEACE AND STABILITY IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN AND A STRONG AND EFFECTIVE FRAMEWORK IN THIS PART OF THE WORLD FOR THE NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE. CARAMANLIS INTERJECTED THAT IT WAS NOT GREECE BUT TURKEY THAT WAS THREATENING TO DESTROY THE ALLIANCE.

9. AS THE MEETING WAS BREAKING UP I HAD AN OPPORTUNITY FOR A SHORT PRIVATE WORD WITH CARAMANLIS WHO RAISED THE QUESTION OF MY RETURN TO WASHINGTON THIS WEEKEND. (I HAD PASSED THE WORD TO HIS OFFICE EARLIER OF MY PROSPECTIVE ABSENCE FOR A FEW DAYS.) I ASKED CARAMANLIS IF HE HAD ANY SPECIFIC MESSAGE OR THOUGHTS THAT HE WANTED ME TO CARRY BACK TO WASHINGTON TO DISCUSS WITH THE SECRETARY. CARAMANLIS SAID "NO, YOU KNOW MY VIEWS VERY WELL". HE SAID THAT THERE HAD BEEN NO CHANGE IN HIS POSITION SINCE OUR MEETING TWO WEEKS AGO WHICH I HAVE ALREADY REPORTED IN DETAIL (ATHENS 8950). HE SAID HE WAS STILL WAITING FOR THE TURKS TO LIVE UP TO THE UNDERSTANDINGS THAT HAD BEEN ARRIVED AT IN BRUSSELS AND TO GIVE SOME EFFECTIVE INDICATION THAT THEY WERE IN FACT PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE A REALISTIC SETTLEMENT ON CYPRUS AND TO DO SO PROMPTLY. HE ADDED ONLY THAT I CONVEY HIS PERSONAL REGARDS TO THE SECRETARY.

10. IN A SEPARATE MEETING EARLIER THIS MORNING WITH DEFENSE MINISTER AVEROFF, CHAIRMAN HAYS WENT OVER PRETTY MUCH THE SAME GROUND AS HE HAD IN HIS PRESENTATION AND REMARKS TO CARAMANLIS. IT WAS QUITE CLEAR FROM THIS MEETING HOWEVER THAT AVEROFF WAS NOT COMPLETELY AU COURANT ON THE BEHIND-THE-SCENES EFFORTS TO PRODUCE RAPID
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EFFECTIVE NEGOTIATIONS ON CYPRUS. PERHAPS THE ONLY ADDITIONAL POINT THAT SHOULD BE MENTIONED WAS AVEROFF'S CHARACTERIZATION AND ASSESSMENT OF MAKARIOS. AVEROFF SAID HE HAD BEEN DEALING WITH MAKARIOS FOR NEARLY TWENTY YEARS AND THAT HE AND ALL THE TOP GREEKS KNEW MAKARIOS TO BE SHIFTY, WAVERING AND VERY DIFFICULT TO CONTROL. HOWEVER, AVEROFF SAID EMPHATICALLY, WE HAVE GOT HIM UNDER CONTROL NOW AND IF THE TURKS WERE READY THE GREEK SIDE WAS READY TO NEGOTIATE AND IMMEDIATE SETTLEMENT OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM. AVEROFF SAID THAT THE TURKS AND THE CYPRIOTS HAD TO REALIZE, AS THE GREEKS HAVE COME TO REALIZE, THAT NO "SOLUTION" IS POSSIBLE FOR CYPRUS. HOWEVER, AVEROFF SAID HE WAS CONVINCED THAT AN ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT COULD BE NEGOTIATED IF ONLY THE TURKS SHOWED A READINESS TO DO SO. IF NOT, HE OPINED DARKLY, THE PROSPECTS FOR GREEK-TURKISH RELATIONS AND PEACE IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN WERE

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